

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 3111

EXDIS

VIENNA FOR LEDSKY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR, AU
SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: MFA DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REMARKS TO DCM

1. MFA'S DIRECTOR-GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS JOHN TZOUNIS ASKED DCM TO CALL EVENING OF APRIL 5 ON MATTER HE SAID COULD NOT WAIT. TZOUNIS BEGAN BY RELATING A TELE-GRAPHIC REPORT HE HAD RECEIVED OF CHARGE' DILLERY'S DEMARCHE TO CYPRIOT FOREIGN MINISTER CHRISTOPHIDES WHICH FOLLOWED ALMOST WORD-FOR-WORD THE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED IN STATE 73272. HE WONDERED WHY USG WAS TAKING THIS LINE WITH GREEK CYPRIOTS WHO HAD DONE WHAT THEY PROMISED IN VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. WHY WEREN'T WE PUTTING THIS PRESSURE INSTEAD ON TURKISH CYPRIOTS WHO WERE NOT LIVING UP TO THEIR COMMITMENTS. IN VIENNA DISCUSSIONS OF TERRITORIAL QUESTION IN VIENNA, TURKISH-CYPRIOTS HAD NOT REALLY DONE ANYTHING EXCEPT CRITICIZE GREEK-CYPRIOT PROPSAL AND COMPLAIN THAT IT WAS NOT BIZONAL AS AGREED UPON IN NICOSIA GUIDE-CONFIDENTIAL

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LINES. TZOUNIS SAID THERE COULD BE NO PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT IF TURKISH-CYPRIOTS CONTINUE IN THIS VEIN AND DON'T INDICATE WHAT THEIR MINIMUM TERRITORIAL NEEDS ARE. (WHEN DCM SUGGESTED TURKISH-CYPRIOTS HAD A POINT WHEN THEY SAID GREEK-CYPRIOTS MAP DID NOT MEET BIZONAL CRITERION, TZOUNIS PHONED CYPRUS DESK FOR COPY OF MAP SUBMITTED AT VIENNA. AFTER HE LOOKED IT OVER, HE WAS A LITTLE EMBARRASSED

AS HE TRIED TO EXPLAIN HOW GERRYMANDERED AREAS PROPOSED FOR TURKISH-CYPTIOTS, WITH POCKETS ONLY TENUOUSLY CONNECTED TO BULK OF ZONE, WAS IN FACT "BI"-ZONAL.) TZOUNIS THEN TURNED TO CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS AND SCATHINGLY DENOUNCED TURKISH-CYPRIOT PROPOSAL AS CONTRARY TO AGREED GUIDELINES AND TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. PROPOSAL WAS NOT "FEDERA" AT ALL AND COULD ONLY LOOSELY BE DESCRIBED EVEN AS "CON-FEDERAL."

2. TZOUNIS SAID HE WANTED TO TELL DCM FRANKLY THAT THERE WAS A GROWING FEELING IN CYPRUS THAT GREEK-CYPRIOTS HAD BEEN LED DOWN THE GARDEN PATH BY USG. THE U.S. CONTINUED TO STATE THAT IT WAS SERIOUSLY SEEKING AN ACCEPTABLE AND STABLE SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BUT SEEMED TO BE CONTENT WITH ONLY THE APPEARANCE OF PROGRESS IN WHICH GREEK-CYPRIOTS WERE BEING ASKED TO MAKE ALL THE REAL CONCESSIONS. DCM STRONGLY DENIED THAT USG WAS PLAYING ANY SUCH GAME AND PUSHED TZOUNIS FOR SPECIFICS ON WHAT ELEMENTS IN CYPRUS HAD EXPRESSED THIS "GROWING FEELING." ONLY CONCRETE EXAMPLE TZOUNIS COULD GIVE TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS CLAIM WAS THAT THIS WAS LINE GREEK-CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR IN VIENNA PAPADOPOULOS WAS REPORTING TO GOC. NEVERTHELESS, HE CONTINUED, THE RENEWED GOOD WILL WHICH CYPRIOTS HAD FELT FOR WASHINGTON IN LAST SEVERAL MONTHS WAS DISSIPATING, AND THIS MIGHT HAVE SERIOUS LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES FOR USG SINCE KISSINGER WAS NO LONGER THERE TO SERVE AS PERSONAL FOCUS FOR CYPRIOT HOSTILITY.

3. DCM NOTED THAT DEMARCHE DILLERY HAD MADE TO CHRISTOPHIDES
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WAS ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON AND THAT WE WERE MAKING THE SAME POINTS WITH OTHERS CONCERNED WITH VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. AMBASSADOR HAD TAKEN THIS POSITION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS A FEW DAYS AGO (ATHENS-3026-NOTAL) AND DCM CONFIRMED TO TZOUNIS THAT POINTS IN PARAGRAPH ONE OF STATE 73272, WHICH HE WENT OVER, REMAINED THE OFFICIAL U.S. POSITION ON THE TALKS. WE WANT A GENUINE AND ENDURING SETTLEMENT TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND BELIEVE THAT NEGOTIATIONS NOW GOING ON ARE AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD THAT GOAL. THE INITIAL POSITIONS TAKEN BY BOTH TURKISH-DN GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDES WERE OBVIOUSLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER PARTY, BUT NOBODY HAD EXPECTED IT TO BE OTHERWISE. REPORTS WE HAD RECEIVED ABOUT THE MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION INDICATED THAT TURKISH-CYPRIOTS WERE CLARIFYING IN GREATER DETAIL THEIR OBJECTIONS TO INITIAL GREEK-CYPRIOT TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL, AND THAT THE GIVE-AND-TAKE WHICH WAS NOW GOING ON SHOULD FURTHER ILLUMINATE THEIR MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS AS THE TALKS CONTINUED. IT WAS IN EVERYBODY'S INTEREST, DCM CONTINUED, TO KEEP THIS

PROCESS OF EXPLORATION GOING FORWARD ON BOTH TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND NOT GIVE UP IN A BLAZE OF RECRIMINATION SIMPLY BECAUSE THE OPENERS WERE NOT SATISFACTORY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 3111

EXDIS

VIENNA FOR LEDSKY

4. TZOUNIS THEN SAID HE WANTED TO CALL DCM'S ATTENTION TO SOME "UNHELPFUL" REMARKS HE UNDERSTOOD LEDSKY HAD MADE TO GREEK AMBASSADOR PAPADOPOULOS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF JOINT VENTURES TO EXPLOIT RESOURCES IN THE AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF. HE SAID LEDSKY'S COMMENTS WERE CONTRARY TO GOG POSITION, WHICH CLIFFORD HAD SEEMED TO AGREE WITH, THAT QUESTION OF JOINT VENTURES HAD TO WAIT UNTIL AREA HAD BEEN DEMARCATED. TURKS, HE SAID, WERE INCREASINGLY UNINTERESTED IN ANY AGREEMENT TO DEMARCATHE THE AEGEAN AND HAD GRADUALLY BACKED OFF FROM THEIR AGREEMENT TO DO SO IN MAY 1974. THEIR CURRENT PROPOSAL FOR "POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS" ON THE AEGEAN REALLY AMOUNTS TO DECIDING THE ISSUE ON THE BASIS OF THE MILITARY FORCES AVAILABLE TO EACH SIDE, AND THIS, TZOUNIS SAID HOTLY, IS SOMETHING GOG WILL NEVER AGREE TO. DCM SAID HE DID NOT KNOW THE CONTEXT IN WHICH LEDSKY'S COMMENTS MAY HAVE BEEN RAISED BUT IT SOUNDED FROM TZOUNIS' DESCRIPTION LIKE A PRIVATE CONVERSATION IN WHICH VARIOUS ASPECTS OF GREEK-TURKISH DISAGREEMENT WERE
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MENTS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. AS TZOUNIS, LEDSKY AND AMBASSADOR PAPADOPOULOS WELL KNOW, THE USG IS TAKING NO POSITION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF AEGEAN DISPUTE AT THIS TIME BUT IS TRYING TO EXPLORE WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED THE BEST WAY TO REACH AN EQUITABLE AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.

5. COMMENT: AFTER DCM'S DISCUSSION LAST NIGHT WITH TZOUNIS, WE RECEIVED STATE 76180 REPORTING GREEK AMBASSADOR ALEXANDRAKIS' CALL ON COUNSELOR-DESIGNATE NIMETZ, IN WHICH ALEXANDRAKIS MADE THE SAME GENERAL POINTS AS TZOUNIS AND IN THE SAME ORDER. THIS SEEMS TO US TO ADD TO THE EVIDENCE THAT THE GOG IS ENGAGED IN AN ORCHESTRATED EFFORT TO CONVINCE US THAT (A) IN VIENNA THE GREEK-CYPROTS ARE LIVING UP TO THEIR COMMITMENTS; (B) TURKISH-CYPRIOTS, AS USUAL, ARE NOT; (C) IF TALKS FAIL IT WILL BE ENTIRELY THE FAULT OF TURKS AND TURKISH-CYPRIOTS; AND (D) USG SHOULD PUT MORE PRESSURE ON TURKS AND TURKISH-CYPRIOTS TO FORCE THEM TO COME UP WITH MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS.

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